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COMMUNIQUE on the International Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties

An International Conference of 75 Communist and Workers' Parties took place in Moscow from June 5 to 17, 1969. Participants in the Conference see it as a big event in unfolding the struggle against imperialism, in achieving anti-imperialist united action by the broadest masses of the people throughout the world, as an important stage in cementing the unity of the communist movement on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, proletarian internationalism.

Delegations of the following Communist and Workers' Parties participated in the Conference: Communist Party of Australia, Communist Party of Austria, Socialist Vanguard Party of Algeria, Communist Party of Argentina, Communist Party of Belgium, Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin, Communist Party of Bolivia, Brazilian Communist Party, Bulgarian Communist Party, Communist Party of Canada, Communist Party of Ceylon, Communist Party of Chile, Communist Party of Colombia, People's Van-

guard Party of Costa Rica, Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, Communist Party of Denmark, Dominican Communist Party, Communist Party of Ecuador, Communist Party of Finland, French Communist Party, Communist Party of Germany, Socialist Unity Party of Germany, Communist Party of Great Britain, Communist Party of Greece, Guadeloupe Communist Party, Guatemalan Party of Labour, People's Progressive Party of Guyana, United Party of Haitian Communists, Communist Party of Honduras, Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, Communist Party of India, People's Party of Iran, Iraqi Communist Party, Communist Party of Northern Ireland, Irish Workers' Party, Communist Party of Israel, Italian Communist Party, Jordanian Communist Party, Lebanese Communist Party, Communist Party of Lesotho, Communist Party of Luxembourg, Martinique Communist Party, Mexican Communist Party, Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, Party of Liberation and Socialism (Morocco), Nicaraguan Socialist Party, Nigerian Marxist-Leninists, Communist Party of Norway, Communist Party of East Pakistan, People's Party of Panama, Paraguayan Communist Party, Peruvian Communist Party, Polish United Workers' Party, Portuguese Communist Party, Puerto-Rican Communist Party, Reunion Communist Party, Rumanian Communist Party, Communist Party of Salvador, San Marino Communist Party, Communist Party of the Soviet Union, South-African Communist Party, Communist Party of Spain, Sudanese Communist Party, Swiss Party of Labour, Syrian Com-

munist Party, Tunisian Communist Party, Communist Party of Turkey, Communist Party of Uruguay, Communist Party of the USA, Communist Party of Venezuela and two parties working underground whose names are not mentioned for considerations of security. Delegations of the Communist Party of Cuba and the Left Party-Communists of Sweden were present at the Conference as observers, and set out their positions.

The Conference adopted a Document, "Tasks at the Present Stage of the Struggle Against Imperialism and United Action of the Communist and Workers' Parties and All Anti-Imperialist Forces." Expressing themselves also in favour of cementing the unity of the Communist and Workers' Parties, of all anti-imperialist forces, the delegations of the Communist Parties of Australia, Italy, San Marino and Reunion declared themselves in full accord only with that section of the Document that sets forth the joint programme of struggle against imperialism, while the delegate of the Dominican Communist Party did not support the Main Document.

The participants in the Conference discussed the question of observing the centenary of V. I. Lenin's birth, and warmly and enthusiastically approved the Address "Centenary of the Birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin."

The Conference addressed the peoples of the world in an Appeal, "Independence, Freedom and Peace for Vietnam." It warmly welcomed the establishment of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam. The Conference issued an "Appeal in De-

fence of Peace." It adopted a statement in support of the just struggle of the Arab peoples against Israeli aggression and statements of solidarity with Communists and democrats exposed to brutal repressions and waging a selfless struggle in difficult conditions against reactionary dictatorial regimes supported by international imperialism.

The Conference took place in an atmosphere of frankness and fraternal solidarity, and was assured extensive publicity. The principle of the equality of all Parties and collective methods of work were strictly observed both in the preparatory period and in the course of the Conference.

The participants in the Conference expressed their readiness further to develop ties among the Communist and Workers' Parties. They reaffirmed the desirability of bilateral and regional meetings, and of international meetings of Communist and Workers' Parties when necessary, for the purpose of exchanging opinion and experience and for collective discussion and elaboration of topical political and theoretical questions, problems of struggle against imperialism, for the triumph of peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

* * *

It has been decided to send the proceedings of the Conference also to Communist and Workers' Parties that did not take part in the work of the Conference.

The participants in the Conference are deeply convinced that its results accord with the interests of each Communist Party and of the international communist movement as a whole.

TASKS AT THE PRESENT STAGE OF THE STRUGGLE AGAINST IMPERIALISM AND UNITED ACTION OF THE COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES

AND ALL ANTI-IMPERIALIST FORCES

Adopted on June 17, 1969

The Conference of representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties took place in Moscow at a very important juncture in world development. Powerful revolutionary processes are gathering momentum throughout the world. Three mighty forces of our time—the world socialist system, the international working-class and the national liberation movement—are coming together in the struggle against imperialism. The present phase is characterised by growing possibilities for a further advance of the revolutionary and progressive forces. At the same time, the dangers brought about by imperialism, by its policy of aggression, are growing. Imperialism, whose general crisis is deepening, continues to oppress many peoples and remains a constant threat to peace and social progress.

The existing situation demands united action of Communists and all other anti-imperialist

forces so that maximum use may be made of the mounting possibilities for a broader offensive against imperialism, against the forces of reaction and war.

The Conference discussed urgent tasks of the struggle against imperialism and problems of united action by Communists and all other anti-imperialist forces. As a result of the discussion, held in a spirit of democracy, equality and internationalism, the participants in the Conference reached common conclusions concerning the present world situation and the tasks arising from it.

I

Mankind has entered the last third of our century in a situation marked by a sharpening of the historic struggle between the forces of progress and reaction, between socialism and imperialism. This clash is world-wide and embraces all the basic spheres of social life: economy, politics, ideology and culture.

The world revolutionary movement continues its offensive despite the difficulties and setbacks of some of its contingents. Notwithstanding the counter-offensives launched by it, imperialism has failed to change the general relationship of forces in its favour. It has been possible to prevent the outbreak of a world war thanks to the growing economic, political and military might, and the peace-loving foreign policy of the Soviet Union and other socialist states; to the actions of the international proletariat and of all fighters against imperialism; to the struggle for national liberation; and also to the massive peace movement. Socialism, which has triumphed

on one-third of the globe, has scored new successes in the world-wide struggle for the hearts and minds of the people. The events of the past decade bear out that the Marxist-Leninist assessment of the character, content and chief trends of the present epoch is correct. Ours is an epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism.

At present there are real possibilities for resolving key problems of our time in the interests of peace, democracy and socialism, to deal imperialism new blows. However, while the world system of imperialism has not grown stronger, it remains a serious and dangerous foe. The United States of America, the chief imperialist power, has grown more aggressive.

The core of the aggressive policy of imperialism is the drive to use all means to weaken the positions of socialism, suppress the national liberation movement, hamstringing the struggle of the working people in the capitalist countries and halt the irreversible decline of capitalism.

Global in scale, the basic contradiction between imperialism and socialism is growing deeper. Under conditions where the struggle between the two world systems is becoming sharper, the capitalist powers seek, despite the growing contradictions dividing them, to unite their efforts to uphold and strengthen the system of exploitation and oppression and regain the positions they have lost. US imperialism strives to retain its influence over other capitalist countries and pursue a common policy with them in the main spheres of the class struggle.

The spearhead of the aggressive strategy of imperialism continues to be aimed first and foremost against the socialist countries. Imperial-

ism does not forego open armed struggle against socialism. It ceaselessly intensifies the arms race and tries to activate the military blocs organised for aggression against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. It steps up its ideological fight against them and tries to hamper the economic development of the socialist countries.

In its actions against the working-class movement imperialism violates democratic rights and freedoms and uses naked violence, brutal methods of police persecution and anti-labour legislation. Moreover, it has recourse to demagoguery, bourgeois reformism and opportunist ideology and policy, and is constantly in quest of new methods to undermine the working-class movement from within and "integrate" it into the capitalist system.

In its struggle against the national liberation movement, imperialism stubbornly defends the remnants of the colonial system, on the one hand, and, on the other, uses methods of neo-colonialism in an effort to prevent the economic and social advance of developing states, of countries which have won national sovereignty. To this end it supports reactionary circles, retards the abolition of the most backward social structures and tries to obstruct progress along the road to socialism or along the road of progressive non-capitalist development, which can open the way to socialism. The imperialists impose on these countries economic agreements and military-political pacts which infringe on their sovereignty; they exploit them through the export of capital, unequal terms of trade, the manipulation of prices, exchange rates, loans and various forms of so-called aid, and pressure by interna-

tional financial organisations.

The gulf between the highly developed capitalist states and the majority of the other countries of the capitalist world is growing wider; hunger is an acute problem in a number of the latter. Imperialism provokes friction in developing countries and sows division between them by encouraging reactionary nationalism. Through anti-communism it tries to split the ranks of the revolutionaries in these countries and isolate them from their best friends—the socialist states and the revolutionary working-class movement in the capitalist countries.

Through military-political blocs, military bases in foreign countries, economic pressure and trade blockades imperialism maintains tension in some areas of the world. It provides reactionary organisations with financial and political support and intensifies political oppression. It resorts to armed intervention, savage repression—especially in countries where the struggle acquires the most acute forms and where the revolutionary forces fight arms in hand—counter-revolutionary conspiracies, reactionary and fascist coups, provocations and blackmail.

In face of the strengthening of the international positions of socialism, imperialism tries to weaken the unity of the world socialist system. It uses the differences in the international revolutionary movement in an effort to split its ranks. It places its ideological apparatus, including mass media, in the service of anti-communism and its struggle against socialism, against all progressive forces.

In these past years, imperialism has time and again provoked sharp international crises which

have pushed humanity to the brink of a thermonuclear conflict. However, US imperialism has to take into account the relationship of forces in the world, the nuclear potential of the Soviet Union and the possible consequences of a missile-nuclear war, and it is becoming more and more difficult and dangerous for it to gamble on another world war. Therefore the ruling circles of the United States, without abandoning preparations for such a war, lay emphasis on local wars.

However, the contradiction between the imperialist "policy of strength" and the real possibilities of imperialism is becoming ever more evident. *Imperialism can neither regain its lost historical initiative nor reverse world development. The main direction of mankind's development is determined by the world socialist system, the international working class, all revolutionary forces.*

The war in Vietnam is the most convincing proof of the contradiction between imperialism's aggressive plans and its ability to put these plans into effect. In Vietnam US imperialism, the most powerful of the imperialist partners, is suffering defeat, and this is of historic significance. The armed intervention in Vietnam holds a special place in the military and political designs of US imperialism. The aggressor planned to destroy an outpost of socialism in Asia, block the way for the peoples of Southeast Asia to freedom and progress, strike a blow at the national liberation movement, and test the strength of the proletarian solidarity of the socialist countries and the working people of the whole world.

Despite the huge quantity of armaments which

it has brought into play, US imperialism has been compelled to cease the bombing of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam unconditionally and to send its representatives to sit at the negotiating table with representatives of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam.

This has been brought about by the unexampled heroism of the Vietnamese people, the farsighted policy of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam, the many forms of assistance rendered to the Vietnamese people by the socialist countries, by the Soviet Union in particular, and the militant and ever-growing international solidarity throughout the world, including the United States itself. The criminal intervention in Vietnam has resulted in considerable moral and political isolation of the United States. It has turned ever broader masses of people, new social strata and political forces against imperialism and speeded up the involvement of millions of young people in many countries in the anti-imperialist struggle. It has aggravated existing contradictions between the imperialist powers and created new ones. The successes of the heroic Vietnamese people are convincing proof that in our day it is becoming increasingly possible for peoples resolutely using all means to defend their independence, sovereignty and freedom and enjoying broad international support, to defeat imperialist aggression.

In the *Middle East* a grave international crisis has been precipitated by the Israeli aggression against the United Arab Republic, Syria, and Jordan. Through this aggression, imperial-

ism, that of the US above all, tried to crush the progressive regimes in the Arab countries, undermine the Arab liberation movement, and preserve or regain its positions in the Middle East. This it has failed to do. Nevertheless, supported by world reaction, including Zionist circles, the ruling forces of Israel continue to ignore the demands of the Arab states and of the peace-loving peoples, and the UN decisions on the withdrawal of Israeli troops from the occupied territories, persist in their policy of expansion and annexation, and ceaselessly commit fresh armed provocations. This policy is opposed by the Communist Party and other progressive forces of Israel. The Arab peoples resolutely continue the struggle to uphold their freedom, independence and national progress, and to recover the occupied territories, for recognition of the national rights of the Arab people of Palestine.

The resistance movement against the occupation is growing, assuming diverse forms and is enjoying ever greater support. On the side of these peoples are the USSR and other socialist states, the international communist movement, the solidarity of the forces of national liberation, and ever wider public circles in the capitalist countries.

US imperialism has not abandoned its plans to strangle revolutionary *Cuba*. It continues to threaten the independence of the Republic of Cuba and in flagrant contravention of international law tries to blockade it economically and carries on provocative and subversive activity against it. But the courageous people of Cuba, led by their Communist Party and supported by

the Soviet Union, other socialist countries, progressive forces of Latin America and the entire revolutionary movement, staunchly defend their sovereignty and freedom and thereby the outpost of socialism in the American continent.

In *Europe* the North Atlantic bloc, the chief instrument of imperialist aggression and adventurism, continues to be active. The axis of this bloc is the alliance between Washington and Bonn. Contrary to the will of the peoples of Europe, the ruling circles of the United States, the Federal Republic of Germany and Britain are doing their utmost to prolong the existence of this bloc, strengthen its organisation and maintain the military presence of the United States in Europe.

West German militarism, the main source of the war danger in the heart of Europe, was revived and grew strong mainly with NATO assistance. The imperialist ruling circles of the Federal Republic of Germany, where neo-nazism and militarism are gaining strength, persist in their revanchist programme of revising the results of the Second World War and of changing the frontiers of a number of European countries. This policy, aimed primarily against the German Democratic Republic, the first socialist workers' and peasants' state in German history, threatens the security of all European peoples and the peace of the world.

The *Mediterranean* countries occupy an important place in the plans of imperialism. US imperialism, which has important military bases in Spain, continues to support the Franco regime, thereby helping it to survive in opposition to the struggle of the fighting Spanish people.

The US 6th Fleet and the system of military bases, which are a threat to the peoples and to peace in this area, serve as a permanent instrument of political and military pressure in the Mediterranean. The repeated exacerbation of the situation in Cyprus and the fascist coup in Greece are likewise the handiwork of the imperialists, who support the colonels' junta.

Southeast Asia and the Far East are one of the main areas of imperialist aggression and military gambles. In addition to SEATO, ANZUS and the so-called Security Treaty between the United States and Japan, there is the virtual occupation of the Southwestern Pacific and the Indian Ocean by US armed forces. This entire system is spearheaded primarily against the socialist countries of Asia, against the national liberation movement, as well as against the neutral and non-aligned states in this area. The US imperialists continue to occupy Taiwan, which is an integral part of the People's Republic of China, and obstruct the restoration of China's lawful rights in the United Nations. The US imperialists continue armed provocations against the Korean People's Democratic Republic and the military occupation of South Korea and exercise arbitrary rule, suppressing progressive forces striving for freedom and the unification of the country. They commit acts of aggression against Laos and provocations against Cambodia. They have set up and are enlarging strong military bases in Thailand. They persist in their attempt to pressure India into abandoning her path of non-alignment and independent economic development. The imperialists supported the anti-popular coup in Indonesia, accomplish-

shed by reactionary circles, who have physically destroyed hundreds of thousands of Communists and other democrats and continue to commit bloody outrages; all this leads to the destruction of all the gains of the Indonesian revolution and threatens to deprive the country of her independence.

Imperialism has become more active in a number of *African* countries. It tries to halt the growth of the liberation struggle and preserve and strengthen its positions in that continent. The British and French imperialists, and the imperialists of the USA, West Germany and Japan are making extensive use of neo-colonialist methods of economic, political and ideological infiltration and subjugation. The armed intervention in the Congo (Kinshasa), the reactionary coups in Ghana and some other countries, imperialist moves designed to dismember Nigeria, the political and military support given to reactionary and anti-national cliques, to the fascist and racist regimes in the Republic of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia, the fomenting of inter-state conflicts and inter-tribal strife, economic pressure and monopoly expansion—all serve to further imperialist plans. The Portuguese colonialists, backed by NATO, try to keep their possessions by force of arms.

US imperialism continues to step up its economic penetration, as well as its political, ideological and cultural intervention in the *Latin American* countries. In alliance with the local reactionary forces it has been pursuing a policy designed to prevent the peoples from following the example of Cuba. It suppresses any step

leading to economic and genuine political independence.

To promote this policy the US imperialists put forward the Alliance for Progress programme and resort to new, camouflaged forms of domination. They use the Organisation of American States and the inter-American military alliance, exert efforts to set up the so-called "Inter-American Peace Forces" and have arrogated the right to military intervention against any Latin American country as they have done against the Dominican Republic and against Panama. The US imperialists maintain or install reactionary dictatorships, often by way of military coups, intensify splitting activities in the trade union movement, extend their influence over the armed and police forces and inspire repressions against the popular movement. They have taken a direct part in military operations against the guerilla movement in some Latin American countries. However, the policy of US imperialism is encountering great difficulties. It fails to stabilise reactionary regimes or secure the agreement of all the governments to the setting up of the "Inter-American Peace Forces." The Alliance for Progress programme has failed.

Other imperialist powers, particularly West Germany and Japan, likewise seek to entrench themselves in that continent.

This policy of imperialist aggression which threatens world peace and the security and independence of nations is facing growing resistance in the capitalist countries from the working class, peasantry, young people, students, from the broadest masses irrespective of their

political views and ideology. The mighty protest movement against US aggression in Vietnam strengthens the militant actions of the democratic forces against US imperialist policy as a whole and the policies of the governments supporting it.

The heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people has stimulated in Japan and other Asian countries the movement for closing the US military bases and the renunciation of treaties which bind these countries to the policy of the Pentagon. In the USA itself—which is the main source of aggression—a militant mass movement against war and militarism has developed.

In Western Europe the movement against the aggressive NATO bloc, for the normalisation of relations and the development of co-operation between states and for safeguarding European security, encompasses ever wider strata of the population. Forces actively opposed to revanchism and militarism are growing in West Germany, too. In countries where the USA maintains military bases, demands for eliminating these strongpoints of aggression are becoming more articulate.

The Latin American peoples are fighting against oppression and brazen interference of US imperialism in their internal affairs. The strike movement of the workers, the actions of peasants, students and other strata show that broad masses throughout the continent are intensifying resistance to the dictates of the USA and its military designs. In some countries the revolutionary forces are resorting to armed struggle against the domination of the oligarchy and imperialism. The national feelings of the

peoples and economic difficulties might compel even some governments to take important measures against imperialism; this determines the tendency to establish or extend relations with socialist countries, including Cuba. The Communist and Workers' Parties are heading the democratic and anti-imperialist struggle, and despite persecution by reactionary camarillas they are fighting with dedication and courage for the demands of the masses and for revolutionary changes.

The upsurge of the national liberation movement of the Afro-Asian peoples has been a telling blow at the positions of imperialism on these continents. Despite serious difficulties, these peoples are continuing to struggle against colonialism and neocolonialism and contribute to the general offensive against imperialism.

The events of the past decade have laid bare more forcefully than ever the nature of US imperialism as a world exploiter and gendarme, as the sworn enemy of liberation movements. The US monopolies have penetrated the economy of dozens of countries, where they are increasing their capital investments and seeking to gain control of key positions in the economy.

West German imperialism is increasing its economic strength, building up its war machine, reaching out for nuclear weapons and intensifying its drive for domination over Western Europe. It opposes all steps leading to disarmament and the easing of international tension, and pursues a policy of neocolonialism and expansion in relation to the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Despite the weakening of British imperia-

lism, Britain remains one of the major imperialist powers and strives to maintain its positions in Africa, Asia, the Caribbean and the Middle East by neocolonialist methods and sometimes by direct military intervention. On the principal issues of world politics Britain acts as one of the most active partners of the United States. It is a leading aggressive force in NATO and seeks a closer alliance with West Germany.

Japanese imperialism is gaining in strength, intensifying its expansion, especially in Asia. Militarism is again rearing its head in Japan. Linked by many ties with US imperialism, the ruling circles of Japan have virtually turned the country into a US arsenal in the war against the Vietnamese people, and take part in conspiracies against the Korean people.

French imperialism tries to maintain and consolidate its positions in world economy and politics. It persistently continues to build up a nuclear strike force and refuses to join in measures that would promote disarmament. It retains its colonial domination over the peoples of Guadeloupe, Martinique, Reunion and some countries of Africa and Oceania, and refuses to recognise their right to self-determination and to govern their own affairs. It uses the influence it still has in its former colonies and, employing new methods of colonialist policy, is particularly active in Africa.

Italian monopoly capital is likewise stepping up its expansion.

Economic development is becoming more uneven among the various imperialist powers and in the capitalist world as a whole. Life demonstrates the correctness of the Marxist-Le-

minist theory of struggle between the imperialist powers and between the capitalist monopolies for spheres of influence. Industrial and commercial competition is growing sharper, and the financial and currency war is spreading. Competition is growing in Western Europe, including within the Common Market, and also between the capitalist countries of Europe and the USA. Japanese imperialism is energetically joining this struggle for markets and maximum profits.

The inter-imperialist contradictions are manifest not only in the economic sphere. NATO is undergoing a serious crisis. The aggressive blocs established in Asia—CENTO and SEATO—are beginning to crack up. Western Europe is becoming an arena of discord among the capitalist countries. This weakens the world system of imperialism and upsets US imperialism's plans for hegemony.

Contradictions are also growing deeper within the ruling circles of the imperialist countries, between the most belligerent groups who gamble on extreme measures, on war, and those who, reckoning with the new relationship of class forces in the world, the growing might of the socialist countries, tend to take a more realistic approach to international problems and to solve them in the spirit of peaceful coexistence between states with different systems. The ruling circles of some countries realise the need to reckon with the real situation which has taken shape in Europe as a result of the war and of post-war development and are beginning to see that the German Democratic Republic must be recognised. A number of countries have recog-

nised the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the People's Republic of China despite US pressure.

The Communist and Workers' Parties, the working class and the anti-imperialist forces take into account all the contradictions in the enemy camp and strive to deepen and utilise them in the interest of peace and progress.

Each imperialist power pursues its own aims. At the same time, together they form the chain of the world system of imperialism.

Present-day imperialism, which is trying to adapt itself to the conditions of the struggle between the two systems and to the demands of the scientific and technological revolution, has some new features. Its state-monopoly character is becoming more pronounced. It resorts ever more extensively to such instruments as state-stimulated monopolistic concentration of production and capital, redistribution by the state of an increasing proportion of the national income, allocation of war contracts to the monopolies, government financing of industrial development and research programmes, the drawing up of economic development programmes on a country-wide scale, the policy of imperialist integration and new forms of capital export.

However, state-monopoly regulation, exercised in forms and on a scale which meet the interests of monopoly capital and are aimed at preserving its rule, is unable to control the spontaneous forces of the capitalist market. Practically no capitalist state has been able to avoid considerable cyclical fluctuations and slumps in its economy; in some countries, periods of rapid

industrial growth alternate with periods in which there is a slowdown and often a drop in production. The capitalist system is in the grip of an acute monetary and financial crisis.

The scientific and technological revolution offers mankind unprecedented possibilities to remake Nature, to produce immense material wealth and to multiply man's creative capabilities. These possibilities should serve the general welfare, but capitalism is using the scientific and technological revolution to increase its profits and intensify the exploitation of the working people.

The scientific and technological revolution accelerates the socialisation of the economy; under monopoly domination this leads to the reproduction of social antagonisms on a growing scale and in a sharper form. Not only have the long-standing contradictions of capitalism been aggravated, but new ones have arisen as well. This applies, in particular, to the contradiction between the unlimited possibilities opened up by the scientific and technological revolution and the roadblocks raised by capitalism to their utilisation for the benefit of society as a whole. Capitalism squanders national wealth, allocating for war purposes a great proportion of scientific discoveries and immense material resources. This is the contradiction between the social character of present-day production and the state-monopoly nature of its regulation. This is not only the growth of the contradiction between capital and labour, but also the deepening of the antagonism between the interests of the overwhelming majority of the nation and those of the financial oligarchy.

Even in the most developed capitalist countries, millions of people suffer the torments of unemployment, want and insecurity. Contrary to assertions about the "revolution in incomes" and "social partnership," capitalist exploitation is in fact increasing. The rise in wages lags far behind the growth rates of labour productivity and the intensification of labour, behind the social needs and even more so behind the growth of monopoly profits. The position of the small farmers continues to deteriorate and the living conditions of a considerable part of the middle strata are becoming more difficult.

The instability of the capitalist system has increased. Socio-political crises are breaking out in many countries, in the course of which the working masses are becoming aware of the necessity of deep-going and decisive changes.

This became primarily evident from the events in France in May and June 1968, from the powerful strike movement there, in which the Communists played an important role and the working people made considerable gains. A serious clash took place in that country between the working class and considerable section of the intellectuals and students, on the one hand, and the Gaullist regime and monopoly rule, on the other. This clash opened up new possibilities for the struggle for democracy and socialism.

In Italy, the steady growth of the strike movement on a national scale, the big political battles and the electoral successes of the Left-wing forces strongly shook the policy of the Centre-Left, which the ruling classes reckoned on using to stabilise capitalism.

In Spain, the struggle of the masses continues to undermine the fascist dictatorship of Franco, which was compelled to introduce emergency measures; despite these repressions, the struggle is expanding, and new social strata and broad social circles are joining the anti-Franco opposition.

In Great Britain, major class battles are unfolding, including political strikes in defence of the trade unions and of the right to strike, which are under attack by the Labour Government.

Class battles, strikes and other actions by the working people, students and other social segments have been stepped up in Japan, Mexico, Brazil, Argentina, the Federal Republic of Germany, Uruguay, Belgium, Portugal, Chile, India, Pakistan, Turkey and other countries and also in West Berlin. The growth of the democratic movement has also been reflected in the election achievements of the Communists and other progressive forces in a number of countries, including Japan. Democratic front governments with the participation of Communists, have been formed in some states of India. In Finland, the Communists take part in the government.

Moreover, the depth of the crisis in the capitalist world is also strikingly revealed by the advance of the mass struggle in the United States itself, that main pillar of world imperialism. A wave of rebellions against racial discrimination, poverty, starvation and police brutality has swept the Negro ghettos. Scores of American cities and towns have been the scene of fierce clashes with troops and police, which took a

great toll of lives and led to the arrest of thousands of Negroes.

In the USA militant strikes for economic demands take place often in defiance of government pressure and threats and contrary to the will of reactionary trade union officials. In the unions the rank and file and progressive forces are becoming more active. Large sections of the working people oppose the Vietnam war.

Intellectual, professional and religious circles in the USA are becoming more and more active in the movement of social protest and for peace. Young people, students in particular, black and white, are in revolt in different ways against the Vietnam war, military conscription, racism, and monopoly control of universities. Reaction replies to this with the assassination of public figures, mounting repression and massive violence. The notorious "American way of life" is being discredited in the eyes of the world.

Everywhere the monopoly bourgeoisie tries to create the illusion that everything the working people aspire to can be achieved without a revolutionary transformation of the existing system. To conceal its exploiting and aggressive nature, capitalism resorts to theoretical whitewash ("people's capitalism," the "welfare state," the "affluent society," etc.). The revolutionary working-class movement exposes these concepts and wages a determined struggle against them. It thus deepens the crisis of imperialist ideology; increasing numbers of people are turning away from this ideology.

The conscience and intellect of mankind cannot be reconciled with the crimes of imperia-

lism. Imperialism bears the guilt for two world wars which snuffed out the lives of tens of millions of peoples. It has created a gigantic military machine which devours tremendous human and material resources. Intensifying the armaments race, it plans the production of new weapons for decades ahead. It is fraught with the threat of a thermonuclear world war which would annihilate hundreds of millions of people and turn entire countries into deserts.

Imperialism gave birth to fascism—the system of political terror and death camps. Wherever it can, imperialism wages an offensive against democratic rights and liberties; it tramples underfoot human dignity and cultivates racialism.

Imperialism is responsible for the hardship and suffering of hundreds of millions of people. It is chiefly to blame for the fact that vast masses of people in Asian, African and Latin American countries are compelled to live in conditions of poverty, disease and illiteracy and under archaic social relations, and that entire nationalities are doomed to extinction.

The course of social development shows that imperialism comes into conflict with the vital interests of workers by hand and by brain, of different social strata, peoples and nations. As a result, growing masses of working people, social movements and entire peoples are rising against imperialism.

The working class, the democratic and revolutionary forces, the peoples must unite and act jointly in order to put an end to imperialism's criminal actions which can bring still graver suffering to mankind. To curb the aggressors

and liberate mankind from imperialism is the mission of the working class, of all the anti-imperialist forces fighting for peace, democracy, national independence and socialism.

II

The world socialist system is the decisive force in the anti-imperialist struggle. Each liberation struggle receives indispensable aid from the world socialist system, above all from the Soviet Union.

The Great October Socialist Revolution, the building of socialism in the Soviet Union, the victory over German fascism and Japanese militarism in the Second World War, the triumph of the revolution in China and in several other countries—in Europe and Asia—the emergence of the first socialist state in America, the Republic of Cuba, the rise and development of the world socialist system, comprising fourteen states, and the inspiring influence of socialism on the entire world have created the prerequisites for accelerating historical progress and opened new prospects for the advance and triumph of socialism throughout the world.

Socialism has shown mankind the prospect of deliverance from imperialism. The new social system based on public ownership of the means of production and on the power of the working people is capable of ensuring the planned, crisis-free development of the economy in the interest of the people, guaranteeing the social and political rights of the working people, creating conditions for genuine democracy, for real participation by the broad masses of peo-

ple in the administration of society, for all-round development of the individual and for the equality and friendship of nations. It has been proved in fact that only socialism is capable of solving the fundamental problems facing mankind.

The contribution of the world socialist system to the common cause of the anti-imperialist forces is determined primarily by its growing economic potential. The swift economic development of the countries belonging to the socialist system at rates outpacing the economic growth of the capitalist countries, the advance of socialism to leading positions in a number of fields of scientific and technological progress, and the blazing of a trail into outer space by the Soviet Union—all these tangible results, produced by the creative endeavours of the peoples of the socialist countries, decisively contribute to the preponderance of the forces of peace, democracy and socialism over imperialism.

The socialist world has now entered a stage of its development when the possibility arises of utilising on a scale far greater than ever before the tremendous potentialities inherent in the new system. This is furthered by evolving and applying better economic and political forms corresponding to the requirements of mature socialist society, which already rests on the new social structure. The building of socialism and its further development rests on the support, participation and initiative of the broadest masses inspired and led by the working class. The Communist Party is the vanguard of socialist society as a whole. The forces of socialism are strengthened and unity of will and action of

the people is promoted by the steadily increasing political activity of the working people, by the greater activity of their social organisations, extension of the rights of the individual, irreconcilable struggle against manifestations of bureaucracy and by the all-round development of socialist democracy. The improvement of socialist democracy, the growth of the productive forces, the political and cultural progress, the superiority of human and moral values enhance the influence of socialism on the working people of the world and reinforce its positions in the struggle against imperialism, a struggle of worldwide significance.

Practice has shown that socialist transformations and the building of the new society are a long and complex process, and that the utilisation of the tremendous possibilities opened up by the new system depends on the Communist Parties in the leadership of the state, on their ability to resolve the problems of socialist development the Marxist-Leninist way.

The application of science in various social and economic fields and the full utilisation of the potentialities opened up by the scientific and technological revolution for speeding up economic development and for satisfying the needs of all members of society are made possible by socialist ownership, the planned organisation of production, and the active participation of workers by hand and by brain in guiding and managing the economy. An important requisite for the development of socialist society is to give full scope to the scientific and technological revolution, which has become one of the main sectors of the historic competition between ca-

pitalism and socialism.

The formation of the socialist world constitutes an integral part of the class struggle being waged in the international arena. The enemies of socialism are keeping up their attempts to undermine the foundations of the socialist state power, thwart the socialist transformation of society and restore their own rule. To give a firm rebuff to these attempts is an essential function of the socialist state, which relies on the broad masses led by the working class and its Communist vanguard.

The defence of socialism is an internationalist duty of Communists.

The development and strengthening of each socialist country is a vital condition of the progress of the world socialist system as a whole. Successful development of the national economy, improvement of social relations and the all-round progress of each socialist country conform both to the interests of each people separately and the common cause of socialism.

One of the most important tasks before the Communist and Workers' Parties of the socialist countries is to develop all-embracing co-operation between their countries and ensure fresh successes in the decisive areas of the economic competition between the two systems, in the advance of science and technology. As the struggle between the two world systems grows sharper, this competition demands that on the basis of the socialist countries' fundamental interests and aims and of the Marxist-Leninist principles underlying their policy, the socialist system should place greater reliance on the international socialist division of labour and vo-

luntary co-operation between them, which rules out any infringement of national interests, and ensures the advance of each country and consolidates the might of the world socialist system as a whole.

Relying on its steadily growing economic and defence potential, the world socialist system fetters imperialism, reduces its possibilities of exporting counter-revolution, and in fulfilment of its internationalist duty, furnishes increasing aid to the peoples fighting for freedom and independence, and promotes peace and international security. So long as the aggressive NATO bloc exists, the Warsaw Treaty Organisation has an important role to play in safeguarding the security of the socialist countries against armed attack by the imperialist powers and in ensuring peace.

The successes of socialism, its impact on the course of world events and the effectiveness of its struggle against imperialist aggression largely depend on the cohesion of the socialist countries. Unity of action of the socialist countries is an important factor in bringing together all anti-imperialist forces.

The establishment of international relations of a new type and the development of the fraternal alliance of the socialist countries is a complex historical process. Following the victory of the socialist revolution in many countries, the building of socialism on the basis of general laws is proceeding in various forms, which take into account concrete historical conditions and national distinctions. Successful development of this process implies strict adherence to the principles of proletarian internationalism, mutual

assistance and support, equality, sovereignty and non-interference in each other's internal affairs.

Socialism is not afflicted with the contradictions inherent in capitalism. When divergences between socialist countries do arise owing to differences in the level of economic development, in social structure or international position or because of national distinctions, they can and must be successfully settled on the basis of proletarian internationalism, through comradely discussion and voluntary fraternal co-operation. They need not disrupt the united front of socialist countries against imperialism.

Communists are aware of the difficulties in the development of the world socialist system. But this system is based on the identity of the socio-economic structure of its member-countries and on the identity of their fundamental interests and objectives. This identity is an earnest that the existing difficulties will be overcome and that the unity of the socialist system will be further strengthened on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

In the citadels of capitalism the working class, as recent events have shown, is the principal driving force of the revolutionary struggle, of the entire anti-imperialist, democratic movement. The present period is characterised by a sharpening of the struggle of the working class and of the broad masses of working people not only for an improvement of their economic conditions but also for political demands. While defending their vital interests, the working people fight for social rights and democra-

tic freedoms. These demands are increasingly directed against the system of domination by monopoly capital, against its political power. The desire of the working masses to effect a radical change in the economic and social system based on the exploitation of man is growing ever stronger. The big battles of the working class in a number of capitalist countries are undermining the power of the monopolies, intensifying the instability and contradictions of capitalist society. These struggles foreshadow new class battles which could lead to fundamental social change, socialist revolution, and the establishment of the power of the working class in alliance with other segments of the working people.

Recent class battles have struck a blow at the illusions spread by partisans of neo-capitalism and reformism, and have given fresh proof of the basic propositions of Marxism-Leninism. In contrast to the Right and "Left" opportunists, the Communist and Workers' Parties do not counterpose the fight for deep-going economic and social demands, and for advanced democracy to the struggle for socialism, but regard it as a part of the struggle for socialism. The radical democratic changes which will be achieved in the struggle against the monopolies and their economic domination and political power will promote among the broad masses awareness of the need for socialism.

In the new situation, the need for working-class unity has become even more urgent. Facts and the experience gained by the working class in the course of their struggles, and the sharp criticism of opportunist views by the Communist

Parties—which remains a constant task—deepen the crisis of reformist concepts. A differentiation is taking place in the ranks of Social-Democracy, and this is also reflected in the leadership. Some of the leaders come out in defence of monopoly capital and imperialism. Others are more inclined to reckon with the demands of the working masses in the economic and social fields, and in the questions of the struggle for peace and progress.

Communists, who attribute decisive importance to working-class unity, are in favour of co-operation with the Socialists and Social-Democrats to establish an advanced democratic regime today and to build a socialist society in the future. They will do everything they can to carry out this co-operation. Communists are likewise in favour of cooperation with other democratic parties and organisations interested in the renewal of society. To advance on this path, it is, of course, necessary for the Socialist parties and other political organisations favouring socialism resolutely to break with the policy of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie and to pursue a policy of effective struggle for peace, democracy and socialism.

The trade unions, the largest organisations of the working people, play an important role in the struggle against the monopolies. But for the division in the trade union movement in the capitalist world they might be playing an even larger role. Some leaders create artificial obstacles to unity of action by trade unions of different orientation, on a national and international scale, but the desire for such unity has, nonetheless, been growing in the trade union

movement in recent years. Communists are consistent champions of trade union unity within the framework of each country and in the international arena.

The Communist policy of united action by all the Parties of the working class and the trade unions draws growing support. This policy of unity affords the working-class movement greater opportunities in the anti-imperialist struggle and makes it possible to bring into this struggle that section of the proletariat which is still unorganised or still follows bourgeois parties. Communists will improve their political and ideological work with an eye to securing working-class unity.

Domination by finance capital and the realisation of “agrarian programmes” by the monopolist states lead to the ruin of ever larger sections of the small and middle farmers. Lately, the farmers have been putting up growing resistance to these measures, conducting mass actions supported by urban working people. The strengthening of the alliance of workers and farmers is one of the basic prerequisites of the success of the struggle against the monopolies and their power.

Big capital tramples on the vital interests of the majority of the urban middle strata. Therefore, despite their lack of unity and special susceptibility to bourgeois ideology, large masses of the middle strata are coming forward in defence of their interests, joining the struggle for general democratic demands, and becoming increasingly conscious of the vital importance of united action with the working class.

In this age, when science is becoming a di-

rect productive force, growing numbers of intellectuals are swelling the ranks of wage and salary workers. Their social interests intertwine with those of the working class; their creative aspirations clash with the interests of the monopoly employers, who place profit above all else. Despite the great diversity in their positions, different groups of intellectuals are coming more and more into conflict with the monopolies and the imperialist policy of governments. The crisis of bourgeois ideology and the attraction of socialism help to bring intellectuals into the anti-imperialist struggle. The alliance of workers by hand and by brain is becoming an increasingly important force in the struggle for peace, democracy and social progress, for the democratic control of production, of cultural institutions and information media and for the development of public education in the interests of the people.

The convergence of interests of the working class, farmers, urban middle strata and intellectuals as well as their growing co-operation reduce the social foundations of monopoly power, sharpen its internal contradictions and promote the mobilisation of broad masses of people for the struggle against monopolies and imperialism.

The numerical growth and mounting political activity of young people have become an important factor in social affairs in Western Europe, America, Japan, Turkey and other countries.

Action by young people reflects the deep-going crisis of contemporary bourgeois society. Working youth, primarily young industrial

workers, who are subjected to super-exploitation and see no prospect for themselves under capitalism, are entering the class struggle to an ever greater extent, joining the trade unions and Communist and other democratic organisations. Broad masses of students take a stand not only against the defects of the obsolete system of education and for the right to organise and share actively in the affairs of educational centres but also against the policy of the ruling classes. Inspired by the struggle of the Vietnamese people and by other examples of heroic struggle against imperialism, growing numbers of young people actively participate in major mass actions against imperialism, for democracy, peace and socialism.

Communists think highly of the upsurge of the youth movement and actively participate in it. They propagate in its ranks the ideas of scientific socialism, explaining the danger of various pseudo-revolutionary ideas, which could influence young people, and seeking to help young people find the right path in the struggle against imperialism and for defence of their interests. Only close unity with the working-class movement and its Communist vanguard can open for them truly revolutionary prospects.

An important feature of our epoch is the large-scale participation of women in the class struggle, the anti-imperialist movement and, in particular, the struggle for peace. This is strikingly demonstrated in the massive protest campaigns against the US aggression in Vietnam. The number of women engaged in production and other spheres is increasing. Their political consciousness is growing and their struggle for economic

and social rights is becoming more active. Working women demand an end to discrimination in the remuneration for their work, full equality in civil rights, a maternity protection programme and so on. They are participating more and more actively in the battles of the workers and democratic forces, and are joining the trade unions in increasing numbers. The Communist and Workers' Parties, in whose activity women members participate on the basis of complete equality, emphatically support their demands and regard the emancipation of women as an important element of the general democratic movement. The example of the socialist countries, where women are guaranteed full equality, is a great attraction to women engaged in struggle in the capitalist world.

Owing to the considerable aggravation of social contradictions, conditions have arisen in many capitalist countries for an anti-monopoly and anti-imperialist alliance of the revolutionary working-class movement and broad masses of religious people. The Catholic Church and some other religious organisations are experiencing an ideological crisis, which is shattering their age-long concepts and existing structures. Positive co-operation and joint action between Communists and broad democratic masses of Catholics and followers of other religions are developing in some countries. The dialogue between them on issues such as war and peace, capitalism and socialism, and neocolonialism and the problem of the developing countries, has become highly topical; their united action against imperialism, for democracy and socialism, is extremely timely. Communists are convinced

that in this way—through broad contacts and joint action—the mass of religious people can become an active force in the anti-imperialist struggle and in carrying out far-reaching social changes.

In the course of anti-monopolist and anti-imperialist united action, favourable conditions are created for uniting all democratic trends into a political alliance capable of decisively limiting the role played by the monopolies in the economies of the countries concerned, of putting an end to the power of big capital and of bringing about such radical political and economic changes as would ensure the most favourable conditions for continuing the struggle for socialism. The main force in this democratic alliance is the working class. These objectives can be achieved, above all, by diverse forms of powerful mass action by the working class and the broadest sections of the population. While making use of all possibilities of parliamentary activity, Communists emphasise that the mass movement of the working class and of all working people is the decisive factor in the struggle for democracy and socialism.

The collapse of the colonial system has considerably weakened the position of imperialism. *In the past decade the role of the anti-imperialist movement of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America in the world revolutionary process has continued to grow.* In some countries, this movement is acquiring an anti-capitalist content.

In many Asian and African countries the national liberation movement has entered a new phase. A large number of national states has

emerged in this area, substantially altering the world political structure and changing the balance of power to the detriment of imperialism. The old colonial empires have been almost completely abolished.

Of great importance for the future of Africa and the cause of peace is the liberation of southern Africa, one of the last areas of colonial domination. The armed struggle which is being waged in this area by the peoples of Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa is inflicting heavy blows on the coalition of fascist and racist regimes, which are supported by the imperialists, and is opening up prospects for fresh big victories of the African revolution.

The Arab liberation movement is playing an outstanding role in the battle waged against world imperialism. It is exerting a positive influence on the entire movement against imperialism and neocolonialism in the Middle East and Africa. The struggle of the Arab peoples against imperialism and the Israeli aggression is a part of the general struggle between the forces of freedom and socialism throughout the world, on the one hand, and world imperialism, on the other.

The growth of the movement for national liberation, and the social progress of the peoples in this strategically important and oil-rich area, evokes the violent hatred of the imperialists and the oil monopolies, which are weaving a web of intrigues and plots against this movement, and resorting to wars and aggressive actions.

To repel these actions, defeat these plots, and safeguard all gains, the deepening of the

social and economic changes, the progressive national fronts, and the democratic freedoms for the masses and for the activity of the progressive national forces are, among other things, of great significance.

Social differentiation is developing in the newly independent countries. There is a sharpening conflict between the working class, the peasantry and other democratic forces, including patriotic-minded sections of the petty bourgeoisie, on the one hand, and, on the other, imperialism and the forces of domestic reaction, the elements of the national bourgeoisie which are increasingly accepting a deal with imperialism. In a number of young states the social role and political activity of the working class have increased. The importance of international ties between the young proletariat of the countries of Asia and Africa and the working class of the socialist countries and the capitalist states is growing.

The toiling peasantry has great revolutionary potential. It is taking an active part in the struggle against imperialism, for the national liberation of peoples, and for consolidating the independence of the young states. Communists are intensifying their activity among the peasant masses and are carrying proletarian ideology into their midst.

In most of the independent Asian and African states, along with the task of consolidating and safeguarding political independence and sovereignty, the central problems of social progress are to overcome economic backwardness, set up an independent national economy, including their own industry, and raise the people's standard of living. The solution of these prob-

lems involves far-reaching socio-economic changes, the implementation of democratic agrarian reforms in the interests of the working peasantry and with its participation, the abolition of outdated feudal and prefeudal relations, liquidation of oppression by foreign monopolies, radical democratisation of social and political life and the state apparatus, regeneration of national culture and the development of its progressive traditions, the strengthening of revolutionary parties and the founding of such parties where they do not yet exist. The pressing problems of social development of these states are the object not only of sharp struggle between the peoples of these countries and the neocolonialists, but also of internal social conflicts. The establishment of relations of friendship and effective co-operation with socialist countries is of great importance for independent Asian and African countries.

Under the impact of the revolutionary conditions of our time, distinctive forms of progressive social development of the newly free countries have appeared, and the role of revolutionary and democratic forces has been enhanced. Some young states have taken the non-capitalist path, a path which opens up the possibility of overcoming the backwardness inherited from the colonial past and creates conditions for transition to socialist development. In these countries the socialist orientation is making headway, overcoming great difficulties and trials. These states are waging a determined struggle against imperialism and neocolonialism.

Countries which have taken the capitalist road have been unable to solve any of the ba-

sic problems facing them. Confronted with rising popular discontent, the internal reactionary forces in these countries are intensifying with imperialist support their assault on democratic freedoms. In a number of cases they are brutally suppressing the mass democratic and patriotic movements. They are kindling conflicts between national, ethnic, religious, tribal and linguistic groups, thereby jeopardising the independence won by these countries.

The imperialists show special hostility toward states with progressive regimes. To turn these countries away from their chosen path the imperialists seek to subvert their political parties, subject educational and cultural institutions and mass media to their influence, organise counter-revolutionary activities through their agents and back reactionary elements in the state apparatus and the armed forces. They try to utilise anti-communist prejudices to spread discord among patriots.

The way to carry out the tasks of national development and social progress and effectively rebuff neocolonialist intrigues is to raise the activity of the people, enhance the role of the proletariat and the peasants, rally working youth, students, intellectuals, urban middle strata and democratic army circles—all patriotic and progressive forces. It is this kind of unity the Communist and Workers' Parties are calling for.

Communists fight for the freedom, national independence and socialist future of their peoples. They are bearers of the ideas of scientific socialism and fight in the vanguard of the national liberation movement. This movement, the

social progress of the peoples in the newly liberated countries demand close co-operation between the Communist and Workers' Parties and the other patriotic and progressive forces. A hostile attitude to communism, and persecution of Communists harm the struggle for national and social emancipation.

Most of the *Latin American* countries won state independence early in the last century. They have, by and large, travelled a long way along the road of capitalist development; a large proletariat has emerged, is growing and becoming steeled in struggle both in town and country, and there are Communist Parties in practically all these countries. The Latin American peoples are struggling against a common oppressor and exploiter, US imperialism, which has placed the entire continent in a position of dependence, regarding it as its strategic hinterland. Some of them are still fighting colonial domination. The struggle for genuine national sovereignty and economic independence is intertwined with an acute class struggle against capitalist exploitation and, above all, against the foreign or local monopolies and the latifundistas. Feudal survivals have remained in many countries where there is a great mass of landless peasants. Struggles are being waged for democratic demands and against tyrannical dictatorships, which constitute a very negative factor in the historical development on the continent.

The Cuban revolution has broken the chain of imperialist oppression in Latin America and has led to the establishment of the first socialist state on the American continent, marking a historic turning point and opening in this region a

new phase of the revolutionary movement. In this part of the world militant democratic, anti-imperialist movements and revolutionary processes are developing which will pave the way to socialism.

The proletariat and the Communist and Workers' Parties play an increasingly important role in the anti-imperialist movement in Latin America. The existence and activity of the working class is an historic advantage and a guarantee of its further development. The struggle of the broad masses for their economic and political demands, and for their revolutionary aims assumes diverse forms. The popular movement in Latin America is gaining momentum in a grim struggle against aggressive imperialism and internal reaction. In some countries it takes the road of armed struggle. In the course of this struggle, the fighting spirit of the working class grows, the political consciousness of the peasantry is awakened, and the rural masses are aroused. The foundations of a workers' and peasants' alliance are thus being laid.

Wide sections of people, students, progressive intellectuals and the urban middle strata are forming an alliance with the proletariat. Joint action and anti-imperialist unity against reactionary regimes are gaining in strength. The mounting struggle against exploitation and the poverty of the masses, against imperialist oppression makes forward-looking religious circles sympathise with progressive aspirations. Patriotic and democratic trends are gaining ground in the armed forces of some countries.

It is of paramount importance for the prospects of the anti-imperialist struggle to strengthen the alliance between the socialist system,

the forces of the working-class movement and national liberation.

III

The social and political situation in the world today makes it possible to raise the anti-imperialist struggle to a new level. Decisive superiority over imperialism and the defeat of its policy of aggression and war can be secured by intensifying the offensive against it. This insistently demands concrete practical steps and actions on all continents in order to give a clear perspective to the democratic and progressive forces, to all the forces desiring a positive solution of the major problems worrying mankind today, the problems of the peace and the security of nations.

The Communist and Workers' Parties represented at the Conference, aware of their historic responsibility, propose united action to all Communists of the world, to all opponents of imperialism, to all who are prepared to fight for peace, freedom and progress.

1. A primary objective of united action is to give *all-round support to the heroic Vietnamese people*. The Conference calls on all who cherish peace and national independence to intensify the struggle in order to compel US imperialism to withdraw its interventionist troops from Vietnam, cease interfering in the internal affairs of that country and respect the right of the Vietnamese people to solve their problems by themselves. The final victory of the Vietnamese patriots is of fundamental importance for strengthening the positions of the peoples in the

struggle against imperialist diktat and arbitrary rule. Co-ordinated measures by all the countries of the socialist system and joint efforts by all Communist and Workers' Parties, all progressive parties and mass democratic organisations and by all other freedom- and peace-loving forces are needed to hasten this victory. The Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties welcomes the formation of the Revolutionary Provisional Government of the Republic of South Vietnam and sees it as an important stage in the heroic liberation struggle of the Vietnamese people. The Conference calls for activity to assure a successful outcome of the Paris talks, which is perfectly realisable on the basis of the 10 points proposed by the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam.

2. *The main link of united action of the anti-imperialist forces remains the struggle against war for world peace, against the menace of a thermonuclear world war and mass extermination which continues to hang over mankind.* A new world war can be averted by the combined effort of the socialist countries, the international working class, the national liberation movement, all peace-loving countries, public organisations and mass movements.

3. *The defence of peace is inseparably linked up with the struggle to compel the imperialists to accept peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, which demands observance of the principles of sovereignty, equality, territorial inviolability of every state, big and small, and non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries, respect for the rights of every people freely to decide their so-*

cial, economic and political system, and the settlement of outstanding international issues by political means through negotiation.

The policy of peaceful coexistence facilitates the positive solution of economic and social problems of the developing countries.

The policy of peaceful coexistence does not contradict the right of any oppressed people to fight for its liberation by any means it considers necessary—armed or peaceful. This policy in no way signifies support for reactionary regimes.

It is equally indisputable that every people has the inalienable right to take up arms in defence against encroachments by imperialist aggressors and to avail itself of the help of other peoples in its just cause. This is an integral part of the general anti-imperialist struggle of the peoples.

The attempts of imperialism to overcome its internal contradictions by building up international tension and creating hotbeds of war are hampered by the policy of peaceful coexistence. This policy does not imply either the preservation of the socio-political status quo or a weakening of the ideological struggle. It helps to promote the class struggle against imperialism on a national and worldwide scale. Determined class struggle for the abolition of the monopolies and their rule, for the institution of a genuinely democratic system, and for the establishment of socialist power, whatever may be the road leading to this goal, is an inalienable right and duty of the working people and their Communist Parties in the capitalist countries. The Communists of the world are in solidarity with this just battle.

Mass action against imperialism is a condition for implementing the policy of peaceful coexistence. Directed as it is against the warmongers, reactionaries and monopoly arms manufacturers, this policy meets the general interests of the revolutionary struggle against every form of oppression and exploitation, and promotes friendship between all peoples and the development of fruitful economic, scientific, technological and other spheres of co-operation between countries with different social systems in the interests of social progress.

Communists regard it as their duty to combat the imperialist policy of whipping up international tension and any attempt aimed by them at bringing back the cold war, and to work for a relaxation of tension, which is one of the most insistent and urgent demands of the peoples.

4) *To preserve peace the most urgent task is to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons* and to enforce the nuclear nonproliferation treaty. In urging the ratification of the treaty, the Communist Parties see this as a link in the chain of measures designed to lead to nuclear disarmament and the destruction of nuclear weapon stockpiles. At the same time, it is necessary to secure a ban on nuclear weapons, the cessation of their production and testing.

The setting up of nuclear-free zones in various parts of the world would be of great practical importance in improving the international atmosphere and strengthening trust between states. *The main effort should be directed towards the prohibition of nuclear weapons. Nuclear energy should be used exclusively for peaceful purposes.*

It is necessary to step up the struggle for an effective ban on bacteriological and chemical weapons, which have been extensively used by the US forces in Vietnam.

The basic interests of the peoples demand the intensification of the struggle against militarism in all its forms, particularly against the military-industrial complex of the USA and other imperialist states. We call on all peace-loving forces to mount a struggle for a radical cutback in military budgets, for general and complete disarmament under effective international control so as to switch resources now absorbed by the arms race to improving the working people's life, promoting the health services and education and rendering assistance to the developing countries.

Alongside its universal tasks, the struggle for peace has very important tasks of a more specific or more regional nature whose aim is to assure security in some continents or geographic zones. The attainment of these objectives which are interlinked corresponds to the interests and aspirations of all Communists, all anti-imperialist forces, all the peoples of the world.

The interests of world peace call for the disbandment of military blocs. As before, the Communist and Workers' Parties consider that the existence of imperialist-imposed military blocs and military bases on the territory of other states are an obstacle to co-operation between countries. A genuine guarantee of the security and one of the conditions for the progress of each European country must be the establishment in Europe of an effective system of security founded on relations of equality and mutual respect

among all the states in the continent, on the combined efforts of all the European peoples. In this light the socialist countries have already declared for the simultaneous dissolution of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty. The Conference emphatically condemns the provocative attempts of the imperialist powers, particularly, the USA, the Federal Republic of Germany and Britain, to step up the activity of NATO. The disbandment of NATO would be a decisive step towards the dissolution of all blocs, the dismantling of all military bases on foreign soil and the establishment of a reliable system of collective security. In conformity with the interests of peace, the peoples demand that the imperialist states put an end to flights of bombers carrying nuclear weapons over foreign territories, that surface ships and submarines with nuclear weapons on board be barred from foreign ports, and demand the renunciation of any forcible actions and of the threat of force.

Attainment of lasting security in this continent is a problem which holds a paramount place in the minds and aspirations of the European peoples. The Conferences of the Warsaw Treaty member-countries in Bucharest in 1966 and in Budapest in 1969, and also the Karlovy Vary Conference in 1967 charted a concrete programme of action and measures to create a system of European security.

It is imperative to secure the inviolability of the existing frontiers in Europe, in particular the frontiers along the Oder-Neisse and the frontier between the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic, and to work for the international legal recognition of

the German Democratic Republic, for preventing West Germany from securing atomic weapons in any form, for the renunciation by the Federal Republic of Germany of her claim to represent the whole of Germany, the recognition of West Berlin as a separate political entity, the recognition that the Munich diktat was invalid from the very outset, and the banning of all neonazi organisations. Peace and security in Europe demand the curbing of the revanchist forces in West Germany, guaranteeing the European peoples their sovereign right to be masters of their continent without interference from the USA, mutually beneficial economic, scientific and technological co-operation among the European countries and the establishment of relations between them founded on a genuine relaxation of tension and mutual trust.

The principle of the inviolability of neutral states must be respected unconditionally. These states can make a major contribution to the policy of peaceful coexistence if they take advantage of every opportunity to act in a spirit of detente and peace. To achieve these aims energetic steps have to be taken in this direction and the problem of European security approached with initiative, with a will to achieve concrete practical measures.

The organisation of a broad congress of European peoples, which would prepare for, and facilitate the holding of, a conference of states, is the most important of all these peace initiatives.

5. The Conference calls on world public opinion to display unflinching and active solidarity with the peoples and countries which are con-

stant objects of aggressive encroachments by imperialism—the German Democratic Republic, the Korean People's Democratic Republic and the entire Korean people. The Conference calls for the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations and the return of Taiwan at present under United States military occupation. It remains the duty of Communists and all other revolutionary and anti-imperialist forces in Latin America and throughout the world to defend the Republic of Cuba.

We Communists call for united action against all imperialist acts of aggression, against recourse to local wars and other forms of intervention by imperialism in any area of the world. In face of the aggressive policy pursued by the imperialists and the ruling circles of Israel, we pledge solidarity with the Arab peoples who demand the return of the territories occupied by the Israeli invaders, this being an urgent demand and an indispensable condition for establishing peace and achieving a political settlement in the Middle East on the basis of a complete implementation of the November 1967 resolution of the United Nations Security Council.

6. Communists reiterate their solidarity with the struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America for independence and national sovereignty, for liberation from every kind of economic and political hegemony of the imperialist circles and monopolies, for withdrawal from the system of military alliances and blocs imposed on them by the imperialist powers and against imperialist tendencies to step up the

arms race on these continents and to preserve and create new hotbeds of tension, for dismantling foreign military bases and for establishing relations conducive to the free development of every people.

The demand of our epoch is to rid our planet completely of the curse of colonialism, destroy its last centres and prevent its revival in new, camouflaged forms. We call on all men of goodwill, on all supporters of democracy, to work together to do away with the vestiges of colonialism and to struggle against neocolonialism. We urge effective international measures in support of the patriots of Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa, in support of all oppressed peoples.

One of the big problems of our time to which the Communist and Workers' Parties are drawing public attention and which they are energetically striving to solve is the elimination of the backwardness of many countries and entire continents engendered by prolonged colonial and imperialist rule. The main task facing these countries today is to promote economic, social and political development, which can be achieved only within the framework of genuine independence from imperialism and as a result of far-reaching democratic and revolutionary changes. To solve this problem it is necessary to mobilise and unite all the progressive forces of each country and develop mutually advantageous ties between them and with the socialist countries.

7. We consider it imperative to step up the fight against the fascist menace and relentlessly to rebuff profascist sorties. Fascism is inten-

sifying its activity at a time when the crisis of imperialism is growing sharper, when reaction is increasingly inclined to use brutal methods to crush the democratic and revolutionary forces. In Greece neofascism has seized power. In Spain the ultras are trying to return to fascist methods of repression and are making futile efforts to halt a powerful mass movement. In Portugal, fascism, gripped by a crisis under the onslaught of the growing popular movement, is resorting to demagogy about liberalisation in an effort to cover up the actual continuation of its terroristic policy. In West Germany the neonazis have laid open claim to power. Neofascist forces are also becoming more active in other countries. Neofascist activity links up with that of imperialist intelligence agencies, which engineer reactionary coups.

All these manifestations of fascism are coming up against growing resistance from the people, and this demands united action by all the anti-fascist forces, and also greater international support from the Communist and Workers' Parties, from all democratic and progressive movements in every country.

The struggle against the fascist regimes is an essential part of action against imperialism, for democratic freedoms. It is the common task of all democrats, of all champions of freedom, irrespective of their political views, world outlook or religious beliefs, to redouble real support for the national progressive forces fighting centres of reaction and fascism, such as the governments of Spain and Portugal, the reactionary colonels' junta in Greece, the oligarchic military cliques in Latin America, and all other

tyrannical regimes in the service of US imperialism.

8. We Communists again call on all honest men in the world to unite their efforts in the struggle against the *man-hating ideology and practices of racialism*. We call for the broadest possible protest movement against the most ignominious phenomenon of our time, the barbarous persecution of the 25 million Negroes in the USA, the racist terror in South Africa and Rhodesia, the persecution of the Arab population in occupied territory and in Israel, against racial and national discrimination, against Zionism, and anti-semitism, all of which are fanned by reactionary capitalist forces and which they use to mislead the masses politically.

Imperialism makes use of racialism to divide the peoples and maintain its rule. Wide sections of the people reject racialism and can be drawn into active struggle against it. In such action they will come to realise that eradication of racialism is closely connected with the struggle against imperialism and its ideological foundations.

9. The interests of the struggle against imperialism, which attempts to stifle basic human freedoms, demand a tireless fight to defend and win freedom of speech, the press, assembly, demonstration and association, for the equality of all citizens, *to democratise every aspect of social life*. A firm rebuff must be administered to any attempt and any legislation by reaction designed to nullify the democratic rights and freedoms won in the course of hard class battles. There must be systematic work both within these countries and in the interna-

tional arena to save the patriots and democrats who face death, to stop arbitrary court rulings against Communists and other patriots, and to defend the right to political asylum; there must be a fight for the release of the patriots and democrats lying in jail. We Communists oppose all forms of oppression of nations and national minorities. We want to see every nation or national group develop its own culture and language, and we firmly defend the right of all nations to self-determination.

We Communists are convinced that it is impossible to put an end to the policy of imperialist aggression, abolish colonialism and neocolonialism once and for all and uproot fascism and racial oppression without resolute struggle against the power of monopoly capital, for democratic demands which, once won, would weaken the positions of imperialism as a whole and strike at the very foundations of its rule. Such a struggle would create favourable conditions for achieving the ultimate goals of the working-class movement.

The present situation demands greater militant solidarity of the peoples of the socialist countries, of all contingents of the international working-class movement and national liberation in the struggle against imperialism.

The Communists regard it as an urgent task today to expose the criminal policy of imperialism with greater vigour and to make public opinion more alive to the aggressive intentions and plans of imperialism.

The participants in the Conference call on all organisations representing workers, peasants, office employees, youth, students, intellectuals,

women, on various groups and social strata with different political, philosophic and religious convictions and views, on realistically-minded political leaders of the capitalist countries, on all democratic parties, national and international progressive public organisations to pool their efforts with those of the Communist Parties for concerted action in the anti-imperialist struggle for a relaxation of tensions and in defence of peace. We invite them all to join in a broad and constructive exchange of opinion on the widest possible range of issues bearing on the anti-imperialist struggle.

Communists favour the most democratic methods of preparing for and carrying out united action with all progressive patriotic and peace-loving forces on a national, regional and international scale. They will do all they can to bring about greater mutual understanding between the numerous and diverse anti-imperialist trends and movements, taking into consideration their specific features and showing respect for their independence. Forms of co-operation, chosen freely and by common consent, will make it possible to raise the anti-imperialist struggle to a new level to meet the requirements of the present situation.

IV

The participants in the Conference consider that the most important prerequisite for increasing the Communist and Workers' Parties' contribution to the solution of the problems facing the peoples is to raise the unity of the communist movement to a higher level in conformi-

ty with present-day requirements. This demands determined and persistent effort by all the Parties. *The cohesion of the Communist and Workers' Parties is the most important factor in rallying together all the anti-imperialist forces.*

The participants in the Conference reaffirm their common view that relations between the fraternal Parties are based on the principles of proletarian internationalism, solidarity, and mutual support, respect for independence and equality, and non-interference in each other's internal affairs. Strict adherence to these principles is an indispensable condition for developing comradesly co-operation between the fraternal Parties and strengthening the unity of the communist movement. Bilateral consultations, regional meetings and international conferences are natural forms of such co-operation and are conducted on the basis of the principles accepted in the communist movement. These principles and these forms give the Communist and Workers' Parties every possibility to unite their efforts in the struggle for their common aims, under conditions of the growing diversity of the world revolutionary process. All Parties have equal rights. As there is no leading centre of the international communist movement, voluntary co-ordination of the actions of Parties in order effectively to carry out the tasks before them acquires increased importance.

United action by Communist and Workers' Parties will promote cohesion of the communist movement on Marxist-Leninist principles. Joint actions aimed at solving vital practical problems of the revolutionary and general democratic movements of our time promote a necessary ex-

change of experience between the various contingents of the communist movement. They help to enrich and creatively develop Marxist-Leninist theory, to strengthen internationalist revolutionary positions on urgent political problems.

The participants in the Conference proclaim their Parties' firm resolve to do their utmost for the working people and for social progress, with a view to advancing towards complete victory over international capital. They regard joint action against imperialism and for general democratic demands as a component and a stage of the struggle for socialist revolution and the abolition of the system of exploitation of man by man.

The participants in the Conference are convinced that the effectiveness of each Communist Party's policy depends on its successes in its own country, on the successes of other fraternal Parties and on the extent of their co-operation. Each Communist Party is responsible for its activity to its own working class and people and, at the same time, to the international working class. The national and international responsibilities of each Communist and Workers' Party are indivisible. Marxist-Leninists are both patriots and internationalists; they reject both national narrow-mindedness and the negation or underestimation of national interests, and the striving for hegemony. At the same time, the Communist Parties—the Parties of the working class and all working people—are the standard-bearers of genuine national interests unlike the reactionary classes, which betray these interests. The winning of power by the working class

and its allies is the greatest contribution which a Communist Party fighting under capitalist conditions can make to the cause of socialism and proletarian internationalism.

The Communist and Workers' Parties are conducting their activity in diverse, specific conditions, requiring an appropriate approach to the solution of concrete problems. Each Party, guided by the principles of Marxism-Leninism and in keeping with concrete national conditions, fully independently elaborates its own policy, determines the directions, forms and methods of struggle, and, depending on the circumstances, chooses the peaceful or non-peaceful way of transition to socialism, and also the forms and methods of building socialism in its own country. At the same time, the diverse conditions in which the Communist Parties operate, the different approaches to practical tasks and even differences on certain questions must not hinder concerted international action by fraternal Parties, particularly on the basic problems of the anti-imperialist struggle. The greater the strength and the unity of each Communist Party, the better can it fulfil its role both inside the country and in the international communist movement.

Communists are aware that our movement, while scoring great historical victories in the course of its development, has recently encountered serious difficulties. Communists are convinced, however, that these difficulties will be overcome. This belief is based on the fact that the international working class has common long-term objectives and interests, on the striving of each Party to find a solution to existing

problems which would meet both national and international interests and the Communists' revolutionary mission; it is based on the will of Communists for cohesion on an international scale.

The Communist and Workers' Parties, regardless of some difference of opinion, reaffirm their determination to present a united front in the struggle against imperialism.

Some of the divergences which have arisen are eliminated through an exchange of opinion or disappear as the development of events clarifies the essence of the outstanding issues. Other divergences may last long. The Conference is confident that the outstanding issues can and must be resolved correctly by strengthening all forms of co-operation among the Communist Parties, by extending inter-Party ties, mutual exchange of experience, comradely discussion and consultation and unity of action in the international arena. It is an internationalist duty of each Party to do everything it can to help improve relations and promote trust between all Parties and to undertake further efforts to strengthen the unity of the international communist movement. This unity is strengthened by a collective analysis of concrete reality.

The policy of joint anti-imperialist action demands that the ideological and political role of the Marxist-Leninist Parties in the world revolutionary process should be enhanced. Marching in the front ranks of the revolutionary, liberation and democratic movements, Communists will continue to fight uncompromisingly against bourgeois ideology and to explain to the working people the real meaning of their strug-

gle and the conditions for victory. To wage a successful struggle against imperialism and to ensure the victory of their cause, Communists will propagate the ideas of scientific socialism in the working-class movement and among the broad masses, including young people; they will consistently uphold their principles and work for the triumph of Marxism-Leninism and, in accordance with the concrete situation, fight against Right- and Left-opportunist distortions of theory and policy, against revisionism, dogmatism and Left-sectarian adventurism. These deviations tend generally to underestimate the importance of the real forces which can and must be drawn into the struggle.

Loyalty to Marxism-Leninism and to proletarian internationalism, and dedicated and devoted service in the interests of their peoples and the common cause of socialism are a requisite for the efficacy and correct orientation of united action by the Communist and Workers' Parties, a guarantee that they will achieve their historic goals.

The communist movement is an integral part of modern society and is its most active force. Hence, the banning of Communist Parties is an attack on the democratic rights and vital interests of the peoples. The participants in the Conference support all the Communist Parties of the world, without exception, which fight for their right of legal participation in the political life of their countries. We emphatically condemn the brutal repressions and terror which have claimed the lives of thousands upon thousands of Communists and other democrats and revolutionaries in Indonesia, Spain, Portugal, Gre-

ece, Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Mexico, Venezuela, Panama, Paraguay, Guatemala, South Africa, Thailand, Haiti, Malaysia, Iran, the Philippines and some other countries. We proclaim our solidarity with our fellow fighters in the common struggle who are lying in the jails of fascist and dictatorial regimes, in prisons in the capitalist countries, and we work for their release.

The participants regard this Conference as an important stage in the cohesion of the world communist movement. They consider that the absence of certain Communist Parties should not hinder fraternal ties and cooperation between all Communist Parties without exception. They declare their resolve to achieve joint action in the struggle against imperialism, for the common objectives of the international working-class movement, as well as with the Communist and Workers' Parties not represented at the present Conference.

* * *

The struggle against imperialism is a long, hard and strenuous fight. Tense class battles lie ahead and they cannot be avoided. Let us step up the offensive against imperialism and internal reaction. The revolutionary and progressive forces are certain to triumph.

Peoples of the socialist countries, workers, democratic forces in the capitalist countries, newly-liberated peoples and those who are oppressed, unite in a common struggle against imperialism, for peace, national liberation, social progress, democracy and socialism!

CENTENARY OF THE BIRTH OF VLADIMIR ILYICH LENIN Address of the International Conference

On the eve of the centenary of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin's birth the thoughts of this Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties turn to the undying genius of our revolutionary age.

Lenin's name has come to symbolise the victory of the Great October Revolution and those immense revolutionary advances which have radically changed the face of society on earth and signify the turning of mankind to socialism and communism.

Lenin was an eminent man of thought who developed in every aspect the science which Marx and Engels established: dialectical materialism, political economy, the theory of the socialist revolution and the building of communist society.

Lenin founded the Bolshevik Party, the first proletarian party of a new type, he led the world's first socialist revolution to victory and founded the first proletarian state in history, Soviet socialist democracy.

Lenin inflexibly fought imperialism and reaction, he upheld unity in action of all sections of the working people in battle against the common class enemy; he was a thorough-going internationalist, he championed equality, peace and friendship among nations, he wrathfully denounced any manifestation of racialism and chauvinism; he was the friend of all oppressed nations and opened the way to victory in the struggle against colonialism, for the peoples' independence and freedom, for their right to determine their own destiny.

The acknowledged leader of the world working class, Lenin saw in the proletariat the leading force able to carry out the historic task of overthrowing capitalism and bringing about the socialist transformation of society. It was he who evolved the theory of the alliance between working class and peasantry. Upholding unity of the working-class movement, Lenin was irreconcilably opposed to opportunism in all its forms.

Generations of Communists, wholly dedicated to the working class, to the people and the socialist cause, have grown up under the influence of Leninism. Lenin's life and work, his supreme qualities as a revolutionary, a comrade and a human being, will forever by their example inspire millions of revolutionary fighters throughout the world.

It is under the banner of Leninism that the revolutionary movement in most countries has risen to a new height, Communist Parties have been formed and have grown strong, and the international communist movement has become a truly world-wide political force, the most influential political force of today.

All the experience of world socialism and of the working class and national liberation movements has confirmed the world significance of Marxist-Leninist teaching. The victory of the socialist revolution in a group of countries, the emergence of the world socialist system, the gains of the working-class movement in capitalist countries, the appearance of peoples of former colonial and semi-colonial countries in the arena of socio-political development as independent agents, and the unprecedented upsurge of the struggle against imperialism—all this is proof that Leninism is historically correct and expresses the fundamental needs of the modern age.

Today we have every justification for saying about Lenin's teaching what he himself said about Marxism: it is omnipotent, because it is true. Marxist-Leninist theory and its creative application in specific conditions permit scientific answers to be found to the questions facing all contingents of the world revolutionary movement, wherever they are active.

Loyalty to Marxism-Leninism, to this great international teaching, holds the promise of further successes of the communist movement.

Communists regard it as their task firmly to uphold the revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism in the struggle against all enemies, steadfastly to make them a living reality, constantly to develop Marxist-Leninist theory and enrich it on the basis of present experience of waging the class struggle and building socialist society. Communists will always be true to the creative spirit of Leninism.

The approaching Lenin centenary is an hist-

oric date of world significance. The Communist and Workers' Parties meet it in a situation of increasing revolutionary activity and will mark it by stepping up political and ideological work among the masses and by extending and strengthening their ranks. They are exerting every effort to rouse the working people's revolutionary energies to struggle against imperialism, for the splendid ideals of socialism.

The participants in this International Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties address to all Communists, to all fighters for the socialist transformation of society and to all champions of progress and peace this call for a worthy celebration of the centenary of great Lenin's birth. Study Lenin's works! There you shall find an inexhaustible fund of inspiration for struggle against reaction and oppression, for socialism and peace. Acquaintance with Lenin's works will help the rising generation to see more clearly the revolutionary prospects of our era. Spread more widely knowledge of the achievements of Leninism, of the successes of the socialist countries, Communist Parties and all revolutionary forces!

Working people in all countries, peoples of the world!

In the name of the triumph of Lenin's ideals, we call upon you to join actively in the great and noble battle of the working class for peace, democracy, national independence and socialism!

Let us raise higher the banner of Leninism in the struggle for the revolutionary renewal of the world!

Long live Leninism!

June 17, 1969

INDEPENDENCE, FREEDOM AND PEACE FOR VIETNAM!

Appeal of the International Conference

The International Conference of representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties sends ardent greetings to the fraternal people of Vietnam and wholeheartedly congratulates them on their historic successes in the struggle against US aggression.

We send special greetings to the vanguard of the Vietnamese people—the Working People's Party of Vietnam and its Central Committee—and to the great patriot and internationalist Comrade Ho Chi Minh, outstanding figure of the international communist movement. The Working People's Party of Vietnam is the inspiring and guiding force in the struggle against US imperialist aggression. It consistently defends the national interests and the outpost of socialism in Southeast Asia.

We send warm greetings to the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam (NLFSV), the

lawful representative of the population of South Vietnam and tested organiser and leader of the heroic resistance against US aggression. The NLFSV's Political Programme is the basis for uniting the entire South Vietnamese population in its just struggle for liberation.

The International Conference unconditionally supports the 10-point programme — "Principles and Main Content of a General Settlement of the South Vietnam Problem as a Contribution to the Restoration of Peace in Vietnam"—put forward on May 8, 1969 by the Central Committee of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam. This programme proceeds from the basic principles of the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Vietnam and from the present situation in Vietnam. It is based on the Political Programme and 5-point stand of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam and coincides with the 4-point stand of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. The proposed settlement of the South Vietnam problem fully accords with the national rights of the Vietnamese people and the interests of world peace. It guarantees the right to self-determination of the South Vietnamese people and lasting peace in Vietnam and also accords with the interests of the other peoples of Indochina.

In fighting to defend their homeland the Vietnamese people exercise the sacred and inviolable right of all peoples to self-defence.

Their struggle for freedom and independence evokes the deep respect and admiration of all nations. Their staunchness, heroism and confidence are an example and inspiration in the struggle against imperialism, for peace and for the li-

beration of peoples from exploitation and oppression. By defending their homeland, the Vietnamese people simultaneously fulfil their internationalist duty and serve the noble cause of world peace. In this most just struggle of the Vietnamese people we have been and shall be firmly linked in solidarity with them.

The heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people against US aggression is a key component of the world-wide battle between socialism and imperialism, between the forces of progress and those of reaction.

By undertaking armed intervention in Vietnam the imperialist forces of the USA made an attempt to destroy one of the outposts of socialism in Asia, bar the road of the peoples of Indochina to peace, freedom and progress, strike a blow at the revolutionary national liberation movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America, and test the solidarity of the socialist countries and all anti-imperialist forces.

These plans of US imperialism are doomed to failure.

With massive support from socialist countries, primarily from the Soviet Union, as well as from all peaceloving peoples in the world, the Vietnamese people have demonstrated to the USA, the most powerful force of imperialism, that its might is not limitless.

The barbarous crimes of the US interventionists against the Vietnamese people, the use of biological, chemical and other means of mass annihilation, which is nothing less than genocide, outrage the conscience of mankind. This has revealed to all the peoples the true, anti-human essence of imperialism.

All this has led to the growing political and moral isolation of the aggressor among broad strata, including ruling circles of some capitalist countries. In the USA itself growing sections of the population are opposing the dirty war in Vietnam, the consequences of which are shaking American society.

The epic struggle of Vietnamese people is a decisive factor in the movement of the peoples against imperialism and is also manifested in the militant actions of the youth and students.

Although the aggressors have set a huge war machine in motion, they were compelled to cease unconditionally the bombing of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and agree to quadrilateral negotiations with the equal participation of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam. In South Vietnam the people's liberation armed forces are uninterruptedly dealing heavy blows at the US interventionists and their puppets. People's power has been established in by far the greater part of its territory. The bankrupt puppet regime is kept in power solely by the bayonets of US imperialism.

These are major successes of the heroic Vietnamese people, the world socialist system, the international communist and working-class movement and all other peaceloving and progressive forces.

The successful struggle of Vietnam mirrors the changes in the international balance of power and the growing might of the forces of socialism, democracy and national liberation on a global scale.

The broad movement in support of Vietnam against US aggression strikingly and concretely

shows the striving of the international communist movement, as well as of all other anti-imperialist forces, for cohesion and unity of action in the fight against imperialism, which is the common enemy of mankind.

The struggle of the Vietnamese patriots shows that a people which consistently fights imperialism for freedom and independence and has on its side the Soviet Union and all other socialist countries and the peaceloving forces of the whole world is invincible.

The stronger the unity and solidarity of the international communist movement and all other anti-imperialist forces in the struggle against the common enemy—imperialism—the greater will be their successes.

The more resolutely the Communist and Workers' Parties uphold the freedom of peoples and head the struggle against the imperialist policy of aggression, the broader and more effective the anti-imperialist movement of the peoples.

Despite their heavy defeats, the militarist circles of the USA have not yet renounced their aggressive, neocolonialist plans with regard to Vietnam and continue their attempts to secure a military settlement of the Vietnam problem. They persist in following the dangerous road of escalating the military conflict, as evidenced by the increasing bombing of Laotian territory and constant acts of provocation against neutral Cambodia.

The US Government and its representatives in Paris stubbornly refuse to conduct businesslike and realistic talks on the just demands of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the National Liberation Front of

South Vietnam, particularly the demand for the complete and unconditional withdrawal of US troops and other participants in the aggression in South Vietnam. Instead, they seek to mislead world public opinion by demagogic manoeuvring and to secure through pressure success at the negotiations which they were denied on the battlefield.

They evade the basic issue of the complete and unconditional withdrawal of US and satellite troops from South Vietnam and insist on what they term as a reciprocal withdrawal of troops. With this the aggressor is put on the same level as the victim of aggression. However, US imperialism will never succeed in concealing the fact that it has unleashed and stubbornly continues the aggression in Vietnam.

The US intervention in Vietnam is a permanent threat to world peace and a direct challenge to all peoples fighting for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress. True to the principles of proletarian internationalism and in the spirit of fraternal solidarity, the international communist and working-class movement will continue to render the Vietnamese people all the assistance they require until the final triumph of their just cause. They thereby make a large contribution towards the cause of world peace, the cause of freedom and socialism.

The International Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties emphatically declares that a just settlement of the Vietnam problem can only be secured by guaranteeing the basic national rights of the Vietnamese people.

Today when the struggle of the Vietnamese people has entered an important stage, when

thanks to the initiative of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam all the necessary conditions have been created for a just political settlement, we demand:

the United States must renounce its obstructionist stand at the quadrilateral conference in Paris;

the United States must forthwith cease its acts of aggression in Vietnam and completely and unconditionally withdraw its troops and those of its satellites from South Vietnam;

the United States must recognise the right of the population of South Vietnam to decide their internal affairs by themselves without foreign interference;

the United States must end all actions directed against the sovereignty and security of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam;

the United States must cease its interference and aggression in Laos and its violations of the territorial integrity of Cambodia, recognise her frontiers, abandon its aggressive aims with regard to the states of Southeast and East Asia and strictly abide by the 1954 and 1962 Geneva Agreements.

We demand that Thailand, New Zealand and Australia, the South Korean puppet regime and also the Federal Republic of Germany and Japan end their open or veiled participation in the US aggression in Vietnam!

On behalf of the many millions of Communists we appeal to all men of good will who cherish peace, justice and the freedom and independence of nations:

to protest with greater determination through-

out the world against the criminal war waged by US imperialism in Vietnam!

to take a still more active part in the international movement of solidarity with the heroic Vietnamese people!

to demand the withdrawal of US and satellite troops from Vietnam!

to demand the prompt peaceful settlement of the Vietnam problem on the basis of ensuring the inalienable rights of the Vietnamese people!

to support the 10 points of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam!

We call for the immediate initiation of further, still more powerful, varied and coordinated action by the anti-imperialist, peaceloving forces in support of the struggle of the Vietnamese people against US aggression!

Boycott transportation of troops, weapons and supplies for the interventionists and their satellites!

Let us turn July 20, the anniversary of the signing of the Geneva Agreements, into an international day of solidarity with Vietnam, a day of struggle to stop US aggression!

Honour and glory to the heroic Vietnamese people fighting with dedication for freedom and independence!

Hold higher the banner of international solidarity!

Independence, freedom and peace for Vietnam!

The just cause of the Vietnamese people will triumph!

June 10, 1969

TELEGRAM
of the International Conference to the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam

The Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties, convened in Moscow, warmly welcomes the creation of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam. The 75 Parties represented at the Conference regard this event as a new and important stage of the heroic struggle for liberation waged by the Vietnamese people. They assure the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam and the entire Vietnamese people of their invariable support for their struggle for final victory.

June 12, 1969

APPEAL IN DEFENCE OF PEACE

Adopted on June 16, 1969

We representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties gathered in Moscow for the International Conference call upon all peoples of the world, regardless of their convictions and political views, to act jointly to defend and consolidate the peace.

A struggle is being waged for the greatest cause of all—the future of mankind. In the first half of this century two world wars claimed more than 70 million human lives and wiped thousands of thriving towns and rural communities from the face of the earth. The sinister atomic mushroom over Hiroshima is a tragic warning of the possible consequences of a third world war should imperialism succeed in starting it.

Today, when nuclear bombs can reach any continent within minutes and lay waste vast territories, a world conflict would spell the death of hundreds of millions of people and the dest-

ruction and incineration of the treasures of world civilisation and culture.

Wars, acts of aggression and violence, encroachments on the freedom of nations—all have their roots in the policies of imperialism.

It is imperialism, US imperialism in particular, that is stepping up the arms race, increasing international tensions, and sparking off conflicts and local wars in various parts of the globe. Sworn enemy of the freedom of nations, US imperialism seeks by all possible means to suppress the national liberation movement, organises reactionary coups and installs and maintains anti-popular regimes.

For many years the US imperialists have been waging an aggressive war in Vietnam employing the most barbarous means.

As a result of Israeli aggression against Arab peoples, a dangerous breeding ground of tension remains in the Middle East, which may at any time kindle the flames of war.

The provocative intrigues of imperialism against Cuba, off the shores of Korea and against many Asian, African and Latin American states are creating a constant threat to peace.

Bellicose West German imperialism is gaining strength and neo-nazism is rearing its head in the heart of Europe. Relying on the aggressive NATO bloc and acting in close alliance with US imperialism, the ruling circles of Bonn, who have not drawn the necessary lessons from the defeat of Hitlerite Germany, are pursuing a policy of revanche, eagerly reaching out for nuclear weapons and threatening the security of all European peoples. Military bases placed at the disposal of the US imperialists in various

NATO countries and in Spain are a threat to peace.

The policy of aggression and war, pursued for the profits of monopoly capital, intensifies, in the capitalist countries themselves, the exploitation of the masses, kindles racial discrimination, cultivates brute force, leads to the curtailing of democratic freedoms and jeopardises the vital interests of the people. The militarisation of the economy devours huge material resources, presses down the standard of living and places a heavy burden on the shoulders of working people. Imperialism is responsible for channeling the greatest achievements of science and technology, which throw open new vistas to humanity, for purposes of destruction, while at the same time hundreds of millions of people suffer from hunger and poverty.

That is why the struggle for peace merges with the struggle for the freedom of the peoples, for progress and democracy, for deliverance from alien domination, from colonialism and neocolonialism, reaction and fascist dictatorship.

Today lasting peace is no longer a utopia—it is a fully feasible aim. Mighty social and political forces exist in the world today which oppose war and work for a relaxation of tension and broad international co-operation. The consistent peace policy of the first socialist country—the Soviet Union and other socialist states, the intensification of the working people's struggle in the capitalist countries, the growth of the national liberation movement, and action by broad circles of world democratic opinion and by peace fighters remove the fatal inevitability of another world war and create a real

possibility for effectuating the striving of the peoples for peace.

Imperialism is no longer able arbitrarily to decide the destinies of the world. The US aggressors have been compelled to stop bombing the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and agree to negotiations. A Treaty banning nuclear tests on land, under water and in outer space has been concluded, and a Treaty on the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons has been signed. This means that when the peoples act vigorously and unitedly they can achieve concrete results.

Although threat of military conflicts remains as long as imperialism exists, peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems is a realistic matter in our days. But peaceful coexistence demands a constant and persevering struggle of the masses against imperialism, against its positions of strength policy.

The struggle for peace embraces peace initiatives by the socialist countries, the victorious battles fought by the Vietnamese patriots in the jungles of South Vietnam, anti-war demonstrations in the cities of Europe and America, the Japanese people's struggle against US military bases. The cause of peace is served by the actions of the working class against the omnipotence of the monopolies, resistance of the Latin American peoples to the dictatorship of military juntas, the anti-colonial movements in the countries of Asia and Africa, and the Negro people's struggle for their rights in the USA. Every participant in this struggle, whether he works at a factory bench, tills the soil or labours in a laboratory, contributes to the common cause of upholding peace.

WE ADDRESS OUR APPEAL

to working people—factory workers, peasants, intellectuals, to workers in science and culture, to all who want to save and multiply the fruits of labour and of the creative endeavours of mankind;

to mothers and fathers, who are concerned over their children's future;

to young people and students striving to realise lofty plans and visions and dedicate their strength and energy to furthering the prosperity of their countries;

to parliamentarians, statesmen and political leaders evincing anxiety for the destinies of their peoples;

to political parties, trade unions, and mass organisations and movements;

to religious communities and associations, to people of different creeds;

to participants in the peace movement and anti-war campaigns;

to all men and women:

to demand an end to US aggression in Vietnam, the withdrawal of US troops, respect for the sovereign rights of the Vietnamese people, and independence, freedom and peace for Vietnam;

to secure the elimination of the consequences of the Israeli aggression in the Middle East on the basis of the UN Security Council resolution;

to work for the complete eradication of colonialism and neocolonialism and the attainment of independence by all the oppressed peoples, for the ending of the wars of the Portuguese colonialists, for the uprooting of disgraceful racialism in South Africa and wherever else it

is manifest, and the abolition of corrupt regimes serving foreign monopolies;

to exert greater effort in the struggle for the complete implementation of the principles of peaceful coexistence of states regardless of their social system, for the relaxation of world tensions, and the settlement of outstanding international issues by negotiation, against the encroachments of the imperialists on the independence and sovereignty of the peoples, for their right to determine their own future, and for the promotion of broad and equal co-operation between countries on a basis of equality.

We appeal to all who suffered and remember the horrors of the last world war, to all the champions of peace in Europe, including peace-loving social forces in West Germany:

let us block the road to the policy of territorial claims pursued by the FRG and its striving to obtain nuclear weapons; let us compel the forces of neonazism to retreat!

Recognition of the real situation which has arisen in Europe as a result of the Second World War, the inviolability of existing frontiers and recognition of the German Democratic Republic are the indispensable conditions for a lasting peace on the European continent.

Let us launch a struggle for the establishment of an effective system of collective security in Europe and the elimination of the world's division into military groupings, for the creation of an atmosphere of co-operation and mutual understanding between nations. The road to this would be paved by an All-European Conference of states which has been proposed by the Bud-

apost Conference of the Warsaw Treaty countries.

Peace on earth cannot rest on a "balance of fear". Lasting peace is inconceivable without a cessation of the arms race.

It is imperative to secure the creation of nuclear-free zones in different parts of the globe, the banning of all nuclear tests, the speediest possible enforcement of the treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and the participation of all countries in this treaty, the banning of nuclear weapons and the destruction of their stockpiles.

It is imperative to demand the dismantling of military bases on foreign territory, the release of countries from the aggressive military pacts forced on them and the imposition of an effective international ban on all types of chemical and bacteriological weapons.

It is necessary to work, consistently and perseveringly, towards general and complete disarmament.

In face of all trials we Communists have preserved our boundless devotion to Lenin's ideas of peace and friendship among nations. Today, as before, we shall struggle for these lofty aims of the whole of mankind together with all who oppose the policy of militarism, aggression and war. For these aims we are ready to develop contacts and co-operate with the most diverse public and political forces.

The unity of all progressive, peaceloving forces is the demand of the day. United we shall ensure the triumph of the sacred cause of world peace.

STATEMENT of the International Conference

Two years ago Israel launched an open aggression against the UAR, Jordan and Syria. Since then, the Israeli ruling circles, supported by the imperialists, above all by the US imperialists, world reaction and Zionist circles, continue to occupy Arab territories seized as a result of the aggression, refusing to fulfil the UN decisions, including those of the Security Council; they are enforcing their expansionist and annexationist policy, perpetrating acts of repression against the Arab population in the occupied areas, and incessantly committing fresh military provocations.

The International Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties resolutely condemns Israel's continued aggression, which is a gross violation of the national rights of the Arab peoples, including the lawful rights of the Arab people of Palestine, a gross violation of the UN Char-

ter, which condemns aggression.

In their just struggle against aggression the Arab peoples have the effective support of the socialist countries, primarily of the Soviet Union. In this struggle they are backed by the world communist movement, the national-liberation forces and ever growing sections of the public in the capitalist countries.

The Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties holds that peace and tranquility in this area can be established only provided Israeli troops are withdrawn from all occupied Arab territories and the Security Council resolution of November 22, 1967 is fully implemented.

The Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties appeals to all progressive forces throughout the world to increase their effective support for, and enhance their solidarity with, the Arab peoples in their just struggle.

June 7, 1969

STATEMENT of the International Conference

The representatives of 75 Communist and Workers' Parties gathered in Moscow are deeply indignant at the fresh wave of terror, brutal court persecution, mass arrests and torture of Greek Communists, democrats and other opponents of the junta.

The dictatorial regime forced on the Greek people by the reactionary military with the assistance of the US imperialists and the aggressive NATO bloc is savagely persecuting the democratic forces of Greece, above all Communists, consistent champions of their country's freedom, independence and happy future.

The participants in the Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties express their fraternal solidarity with the Communists and democrats of Greece who are fighting the military fascist dictatorship. The Conference calls upon the broad masses of working people, democratic and progressive forces in all countries to resolutely demand an end to the repressions and the immediate release of all political prisoners in Greece.

June 12, 1969

ADDRESS
of the International Conference to Indonesian
Communists

On behalf of millions of Communists, we participants in the International Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties send fraternal revolutionary greetings to our Indonesian comrades.

Having proclaimed anti-communism as the foundation of their policy, the reactionary forces of Indonesia in alliance with world reaction have brutally put to death leaders of the Communist Party and massacred hundreds of thousands of Communists and other patriots, and subjected their families to repressions and persecution. This is the fourth year of unceasing bloodbath in Indonesia. Thousands of patriots are in prison or concentration camps, or exiled to certain death in the foulest parts of the country. The present rulers of Indonesia have banned the ideas of scientific socialism. They seek to exclude from Indonesian political life everybody

who cherishes the democratic gains of the people. The crimes of the military dictatorship in Indonesia and its anti-national policy are wrathfully denounced by the whole of progressive mankind.

The communist movement lives on in Indonesia despite the police terror. Under the extraordinarily difficult conditions of underground activity many Indonesian Communists are fighting to restore the Communist Party of Indonesia and uphold the interests of the working people. They courageously defend the country's national independence against the inroads of imperialism, which makes use of the anti-popular and anti-national policy of the Indonesian ruling circles.

The International Conference pays homage to Indonesian Communists who fell victim to the bloody terror and expresses its internationalist solidarity with those who are continuing the struggle. The Conference believes in the future of the fraternal Party, that it will overcome the difficulties of the present period. We are convinced that by firmly adhering to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism the Indonesian Communists, in alliance with other progressive democratic forces of Indonesia, will lead their people to the triumph of the bright ideals of genuine national independence, progress and socialism.

June 14, 1969

STATEMENT of the International Conference

The representatives of 75 Communist and Workers' Parties, gathered in Moscow, received with anger and indignation news of fresh wholesale arrests and brutal killings of Communists, democrats and other patriots in Haiti.

Comrades Gerald Brisson, Daniel Sansaricq, Gerard Wadestrandt, Jacques Jeannot and other prominent Communist leaders, were murdered some days ago. The life of Comrade Joseph Roney, General Secretary, Central Committee, United Party of Haitian Communists, seized by Duvalier's cutthroats, is in danger.

In twelve years Duvalier's tyrannical regime, maintaining power solely with the support of the American monopolies, has turned the country into a concentration camp. Savage persecutions, tortures, death sentences, anti-popular legislation and, in particular, repeal of the right of asylum—all this is designed to suppress the re-

sistance of the Haitian patriots. The Duvalier regime aims the main blow against the members of the United Party of Haitian Communists, courageous fighters for the freedom, independence and bright future of their country.

The Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties declares its fraternal solidarity with the Communists and Democrats of Haiti, daily risking their lives in the selfless underground struggle against tyranny.

The Conference calls on the toiling masses, the democratic and progressive forces of all countries, to demand resolutely an end to the terror, the slaying and persecution of Haitian Communists and other patriots.

The memory of the heroes who laid down their lives in the fight against tyranny, for the freedom and independence of their country, for socialism, shall live for ever!

We demand freedom for Comrade Joseph Roney!

We demand freedom for all political prisoners in Haiti!

June 16, 1969